3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

India. Infants are fed by their mothers for a couple of months, after which all kinds of food, however indigestible, are administered, in order to "strengthen the stomach" and make the child "as tough as a mill-stone" (*tigarman-mizāj*). In this the Turkis merely copy their masters, for, according to D., a Chinese mother will stuff her baby at a party with anything she eats herself, and I myself have seen an official administer neat brandy to his three-months-old infant. Among the middle and lower classes daughters are more desired than sons, because there is always the chance of a girl bringing a wealthy husband into the family, whereas a boy does nothing for his parents after the age of fifteen or sixteen, when he marries and sets up house for himself. Seven days after birth the christening ceremony is held; the Imam and Mu'azzin of the mosque are invited, together with the *Uttuz-oghle* (lit. "thirty sons"), an assembly of neighbours which corresponds roughly to the Indian *panchayat*; the priests give the child its name and recite certain verses of the Qur'an in return for small fees. Schooling at the *maktab* or mosque-school begins at four or five and continues until about seven if the parents are poor, nine if they belong to the middle class, and twelve or thirteen if they are rich. Besides the *maktabs* there are *madrasas* or colleges, which are very sparsely attended, only about 5 per cent. of the boys being sent to them at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Until fifteen or twenty years ago writing was scarcely taught at all; messages were entrusted verbally to a professional *hafiz* or "rememberer," who acted as postman and could be relied upon not to forget or mix up his "letters," however many he carried at a time from one town to another. Even now scarcely one *maktab* in ten teaches writing. Ordinary children merely learnt by heart certain chapters of the Qur'an, together with the rules of prayer and fasting. The older boys are taught at certain schools a little Persian literature (this is confined to the "Gulistan," the "Bostan" and the "Bedil") and read a few Turki books, such as "Sufi Allahyar" and "Nawai." The fees are not excessive. For the first six months of schooling an entrance fee of two tengas (4*d*.) is paid, after which a fee of one *dachin* ($\frac{1}{15}$th of 1*d*.), called the "Panjshambalik," is paid to the *akhun* or schoolmaster every Thursday (*Panjshamba*). Then when the Qur'an is begun a further six tengas initial payment is made and the Panjshambalik rises to three *dachins*. At each of the two *'Ids*, i.e. at the end of the

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854 INFANT CARE--care of routine bodily needs; cleaning; dealing with excreta; clothing and swaddling; provisions for sleep (e.g., cradles, cribs); playing with infants (e.g., fondling, dandling, rocking, crooning); emotional care (e.g., distracting techniques, methods of soothing, guarding against emotional upsets); watching and tending; special dangers ascribed to period of infancy; protection from real and supernatural dangers; hygienic and therapeutic measures; methods of holding and carrying infants (e.g., on back, astride hip); distribution of care among members of the family; institutionalized care (e.g., nurseries); etc. See also:

Cradle songs and lullabies 533
Preventive medicine 751
Medical care 758
Disparagement 784
Cleanliness training 863

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 who holds the purse-strings and does the selling of the farm-produce as well as the buying. Nowadays it is quite a common thing for a married woman to have her own profession, dress-making, cap-embroidering, cotton-spinning, midwifery, cooking at restaurants, dyeing, soap-making, sorcery, laundering, brokering and so on. Out of doors they wear the *chumbal* or stiff rectangular veil, but most of the time this is thrown back over the head; only when some important male personage comes along, such as a Chinese official or an Aqsaqal or a British Consul-General, do they pull the veil hastily down again for a few moments. This is in strong contrast to India, where only the women of the lowest castes go about unveiled.

It must also be remembered that the average Turki man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going, rather slow-witted person, so that the sharper-tongued, quicker-witted and more energetic woman more than holds her own—so long, at any rate, as she can keep her husband at her side. On the whole, the term *mazlum-kishi* (oppressed person), which is the regular word for "woman" in Kashgaria, need not be taken too seriously. A woman above the average in looks or wit profits as much by the looseness of the marriage tie as her less-favoured sister suffers from it; she can exchange an uncongenial husband for a better one with very little difficulty. A Kashgar beauty dates her past life by her successive husbands, just as a racing enthusiast in this country dates his by Derby winners. I cannot say, however, that I heard of any woman approaching the matrimonial record of a certain good-looking Mussulman British subject of scarcely more than middle age, who was credited with having espoused over sixty different wives in his time, and was still going strong when we left.

•854 A married woman does not reach her full social stature until she is thirty years old or more, when she attains the dignity of *jawanlik*. A *jawan* is a woman who has attained years of discretion and is entitled to the privilege of braiding her hair in two long plaits. This "coming of age" is an important and festive event, like a wedding; the husband gives a large party called the *jawanlik toi*, to which both men and women are invited (they do not, of course, mix); at this feast she appears for the first time with her hair braided and wearing a special kind of shirt, known as the *jawanchi konglak*. She is now more important and respected than before; she is also worth more in the marriage market, for men do not like child-brides who know nothing and may at any moment

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
587 above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but
843 the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth
844 difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the
846 parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is
852 the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives.
[553] When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is
[851] washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of
[302] age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate
764 than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no
764 one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set,
793 three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

86

86 SOCIALIZATION--general statements dealing with several aspects of the basic mechanisms of cultural transmission, especially the socialization of impulses and the more informal educational processes. For formal education see 87; for personality and its development see 15.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in different phases of the household.

563 592 565 184 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units, particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants. The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place. The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father, while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 592 565 184 • 86 [801] Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, cannot afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees, nor spare the time in which their sons might be participating in the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according to the local social customs and standards.

563 602 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 593 684 [593] The immediate family is the only social unit to which the individuals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances, these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are not as severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems.

[586] [589] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many incidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

868

868 TRANSMISSION OF SKILLS--acquisition of language; teaching children to walk and swim; techniques for inculcating manual dexterity and technological skills; teaching and learning of economic skills appropriate to each sex; informal instruction in occupational skills; acquisition of artistic skills (e.g., playing of musical instruments); relative importance of imitation, practice, and instruction in the transmission of skills; etc. See also:

Language	19	Motor habits	516
Fine arts	53	Athletic sports	528
Division of labor by sex	462	Military training	702
Occupational specialization	463	Age at walking and talking	856
Locomotion	481	Formal vocational education	874

permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

The father-son relationship is very important, particularly when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). However, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce, it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen)to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] [868] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

563 184 562 583 [586] Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 584 [583]

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues